60 136.JUN 19451 4592 His Majesty's Ambassedor's talk with Hassan Bey Youssef. <u>His</u> Majesty's Ambassador reminded Hassan Bey You's'T that he had mentioned to King Farouk the Appointment of an Ambassador in London and suggested Hussein Sirri and Sadek Wanba. Present Government Was discussed and Lord Killearn said that H.M.G. were not prepared to open any really important issue with present Government. Guestion of Assuan Dam Scheme was discussed with Colonel Pope. Palace has pressed Nokrashi to proceed by Minister of Public Works opposes scheme. Folly of new Company's law was pointed out. Hussein Sirri Pasha thinks H.M.G. should intervene again in internal affairs. Regions J 1865/3/16 Nomber 1.14 TELEGRAM FROM Lord Killearn (Cairo) issue No. 160 (S) Duted 29th May, 1945 in Registry Ath June, 1945 Received A. EZE. J: Egypt and Sudan Last Paper. (Minutes.) Cabinot America J1848 Yes. P. Lot. Dispitution. References. The human to typhin Sat. maybe a hopelers team, but I doubte if we shall get any where useful by convantly telling them to. In (Print.) circumstances the intration to come into the arene is not surprising, (How disposed of.) his tion is precisely when we do ust with to do. Renter reports liver the Arman ornens is foring to public derides -A. T. Courter fini. 4/6. (Index.) (Action completed.) See within amended distribution Next Paper.

# be in telegram is of particular secrecy and should be bained by the authorised recipient and not passed on. ]

ANGENDED DISTRIBUTION (5/6/45)

[MT CLAIR]

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGH OFFICE

D.

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CALIFY DISTRIBUTION

Lord Fillcarn

29th Pay, 1945

R. 11.10 a.m. 4th June, 1945

29th May, 1945

I had an opportunity for a long talk with Hassan Bey . Quasef on a river party last night.

as much work as possible. Massancin is still being spared as much work as possible. Massan Bey reports to him twice a week.

5. I reminded Hassan Bey that I had stirred up King Parouk about appointment of an Anbassador in London. Hassan Bay thought His Majesty had so far done nothing about it. He mentioned name of Hussein Sirri. I said, "Admirable, but backnow better keep against other eventualities?" Hassan Hey agreed. I mentioned Sadek Wahba - he thought, excellent. I left it at that. I made it clear we had done our best about anr: but quite apart from age-old protocol, we had not been able to put the nose of others (and more important) out of joint. He saw the point of that.

4. Exachitted present Government were pretty hopeless; but argued Hokreshi Fasha hinself was not so bad. I said maybe, but his initial attitude is always negative, which does not usually help matters. I quoted example of Civil Aviation which still hung fire. Egypt risked missing a great off-itunity. The Americans were our good friends, but by trying to play them off against us Egyptians were making a big restate as history showed. It would always be we who would earry the baby finally. He admitted this readily eaough.

5. I told him I was not prepared to advise His Majesty's Government to open any really important issue with present covernment. He admitted force of this, but asked what could be done in a constitutional country like Egypt? It can herever clear he regarded Bedawi Fasha as hopeless as a politician.

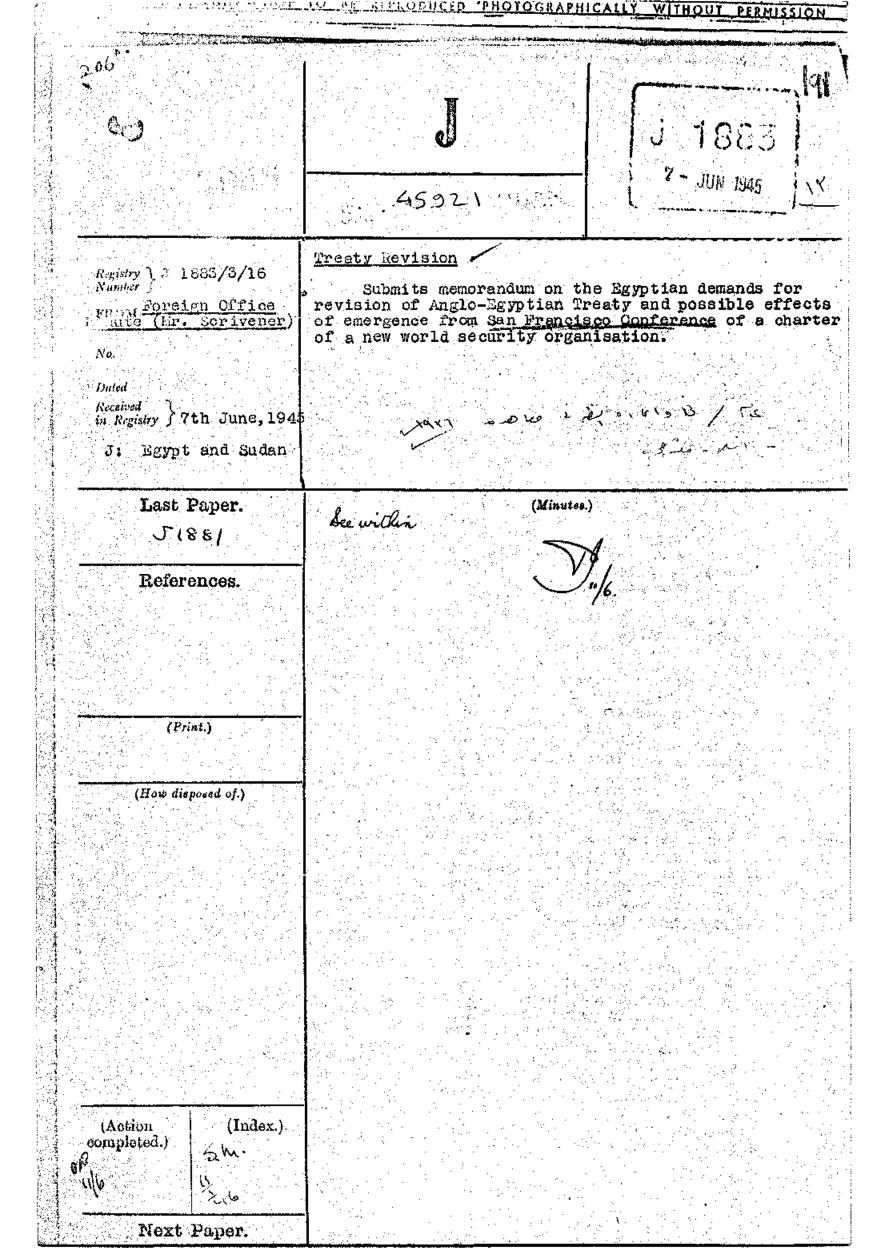
6. I Grew Colonel Pope, who was passing, into the conversation and brought up question of Assuan Dan scheme. Colonel Population in foreible Americanese, reasons why he could not delly here indefinitely Massan Bey said matter would come before the Cabinet on 30th May. Hokrashi Pasha

# 7. I also rubbed in folly of proposed new Companies

te in a state of the

8. Later I ran into Hussein Sirri Pasha, who drew me estimated and said present position was desperate. It was all very well for us to adopt lofty attitude of standing aloof; to must come down again into the arena and play a hand once hore. I was naturally entirely non-committal.

A.W.



onferential

#### Revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

52

It looks as if this question might be brought to a head by the emergence from the San Francisco Conference of the charter of a new world security organisation and by negotiations for the consequent winding-up of the League of Nations. To explain the part which it plays in Egyptian politics, a brief historical preface is necessary.

The aims of Egyptian policy were defined by Zaghloul Pasha twenty-five years ago as "the complete independence of Egypt and the Sudan". With Egypt as a British Protectorate, and in a world ringing with cries of self-determination, this slogan bore at any rate some relation to reality, so far as Egypt at least was concerned. It still had some meaning after the declaration of 1922: but it lost most of it after the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936, which proclaimed Egypt's independence and the end of the "occupation". Now, in a world in which, if one thing has been proved, it is that no weak power can hope to stand alone in face of a major aggressor, it has lost all sense (the more so as the Sugan is developing a healthy national spirit of its own and the Egyptian slogan really means the incorporation of the Sudan in Egypt). But - and this is the point - no Egyptian politician of any party has yet had the realism, or the courage, to proclaim the truth: and to advocate the one sensible policy for Egypt, viz. collaboration with His Majesty's Government in the international field on the basis of complete internal freedom and up-to-date military arrangements which in turn would leave Egypt, free first to diagnose correctly, another to cure, the appalling social evils now flourishing in the country. Consequently "treaty revision", siming at the removal of British troops from Egyptian soil; the end of all present military obligations; and the union of the Sudan with Egypt, remains the policy of every Egyptian Covernment.

While Egypt was in danger of extinction, we heard nothing about treaty revision. But the reaction to Alamein (though an Egyptian would be distressed to hear it put so crudely) was a rising chorus of invitation to us to remove from Egyptian soil the successors of the army which had won that victory. Nahas Pasha never raised the question with any insistence: and though his successor did a certain amount of speechifying on the subject, and foreshadowed discussions about it prior to San Francisco, no actual step was taken. Nor has any <u>direct</u> action been taken now: but the Egyptian delegations brief for San Francisco (the

fact/

fact that we know this is highly secret) foreshadowed an attempt to have placed on record the necessity of a revision of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty on the legal grounds (1) that its articles referring to the League of Nations were out of date and (2) that the obligations it imposed on Egypt were incompatible with those arising out of the new security organisation. And in fact the Delegation has tabled motions which were in general accordance with this directive.

Our answer to this manceuvre is shown in our telegrams Nos.955 to San Francisco and 812 to Cairo (attached) which are self-explanatory; the former telegram should however be read as amended by San Francisco telegrams Nos. 487 and 488, (also attached) which show the latest position at the Conference. A copy of the revised paragraphs of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, to which reference is made in the telegrams, is also annexed. Legally, the Egyptians are justified in maintaining that the new world organisation and the disappearance of the League of Nations will necessitate some amendment of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty: but His hajesty's Government are determined that the charter of the organisation shall not be such as to invalidate the principles on which the treaty was based or to compromise their general policy of safeguarding their political and strategic interests in the Middle East by means of bilateral treaties.

7/6/ ....

# OUTWARD TELEGRAM

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

[CYPHER]

# WAR CABINET DISTRIBUTION

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION

SAN FRANCISCO

D. 3.45 p.m. 28th May 1945.

Repeated to Cairo No. 810. Washington No. 5537.

999999

# SECRET

IMPORTANT.

Cairo telegrams Nos. 992, 1092 and 1098 and your telegram No. 205.

It is clear that the Egyptian Government, probably in collusion with the Iraqi Government, are determined to utilise the legal position which will be created by the substitution of the Charter of the World Organisation for the Covenant of the League of Nations to promote revision of the anglo-Egyptian treaty and if possible to escape from its obligations. This is the more troublesome in that (whatever may be the force of arguments purporting to show incompatibility between Treaty and Dumbarton Oaks Proposals) Egyptian Government have a sound legal case for claiming that consequential revision will be necessary when the above-mentioned substitution takes place.

2. From our coint of view any revision of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty must be in the direction of even closer military collaboration with Egypt than at present (the arrangements now provided are out of date, particularly so far as the air is concerned). In these circumstances we consider, subject to your views which we should like to receive urgently, that our attitude should be as follows:-

The Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 constitutes a "regional arrangement" in the sense envisaged by Chapter VIII A (3), VE (12) and C(1) of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as now revised (your telegram No. 381 and previous correspondence). When the Charter of the World Organisation has been finally adopted consideration may have to be given to the necessary revision of the Treaty consequential upon disappearance of the League of Nations and to the possible inclusion of the military clauses of the Treaty in the system of "special agreements" contemplated in Chapter VIII B(5) of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Meanwhile His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would emphasise that the Treaty represents, in their view, the most efficacious means of prederving security in an area the strategic importance of which has been abundantly proved by the course of two world wars; and they would be unable to agree to any amendment of a nature to invalidate the essential principles on which the treaty is based.

Please see also my telegram No. 812 to Cairo.

OTP.

# OUTWARD TELEGRAM

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[This telegrom is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

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[CYPHER]

# WAR CABINET DISTRIBUTION

#### FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO

No. 812 28th May, 1945. D. 3.35 p.m. 28th May 1945

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation San Francisco No. 956 Washington No. 5538.

# 4 4 4

Your telegram No. 1092.

See my telegram No. 955 to San Francisco.

There is unfortunately no escape from the fact that, legally speaking. Egyptian Government will be justified in claiming that entry into force of Charter of World Organisation and disappearance of League of Nations will necessitate revision of Anglo-Egyptian treaty. But this is not to say that we do not fully share your dislike of their tactics.

2. Prospects of the rough approach to Nokrashi do not appear to us very promising; and we suggest that in this matter the person to work on is the King with his intense nervousness of Russian interference (and over-all responsibility for the present Coalition). It could be represented to His Majesty that the practical outcome of the success of his Government's policy (not that we propose to allow it to succeed) would be to undermine British influence in Egypt and throw open the country to international, and particularly Russian, influence, with results which have already been troubling His Majesty's imagination. His Majesty would, in consequence, be well-advised to ensure that his Government abandon their policy of legalistic sabotage of Anglo-Egyptian collaboration, and concentrate instead on working with His Majesty's Governmont in the framework of the new organisation with a view to the creation of conditions which would allow Egypt to tackle, undisturbed by external influence, the economic and social problems which call so urgently for treatment and in which His Majesty has so often expressed his interest.

5. You may if you think it useful approach His Majesty on the foregoing line. Such action would not,we think, compromise the source of your telegram No. 992 since by tabling the amendments in San Francisco telegram No. 205 (particularly references to "reconsideration of treatics" and military alliance) the Egyptian Government seem to have sufficiently disclosed their hand. [This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

[CYPHER]

# WAR CABINET DISTRIBUTION

## FROM UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION SAN FRANCISCO

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# TO FOREIGN OFFICE

,	No. 487	· · ·	· · · ·	D:	4.49	D. M.	29th	May.	1945		
	29th May, 1945			_ (	1.49	p.m. a.m.) a.m.)	S Oth	May,	1945	DBST	: .
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OTP

#### Your telegrams Nos. 955 and 956.

1. We agree that it could be argued that the inglo-Egyptian Treaty constitutes a regional arrangement within the meaning of Chapter VILL C 1 of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, but it is questionable whether it would be wise to invoke this paragraph in view of the fact that the Egyptian Delegation are still endeavouring to prove that bilateral treaties are not regional arrangements. Text of amendment that will come before Committee 111 4 is in my immediately following telegram until this amendment has been cleared out of the way the simplest plan would be to proceed on Chapter VILL B 12 which holds good whether our treaty is considered a regional arrangement or not.

2. We doubt whether it would be possible to include military clauses of any Anglo-Egyptian Treaty among "special arrangements" contemplated in Chapter VIII B 5 of Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The matter is still under discussion but it is quite probable that these special arrangements will be negotiated between the Sceurity Council and the nations collectively or individually. If they are not, it is probable that they would have to be multilateral, and they would mainly consist of provisions governing the making available of forces and the provision of facilities for enforcement action.

3. We entirely concur in line of concluding sentence of your telegram 955.

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[CYFHER] VAR CAFINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM UMITED KINGDOM DELEGATION SAN

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FRANCISCO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

· · ·		·	D.	5.00	p.m.	29th	May 19	945.	
No. 488.		•		(2.00)	a.m.	DBST.	30th	May	1945).
29th May	1945.		R.	2,40	a.m.	DBST.	_30th	May	1945.

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IMMEDIATE

OTP.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following is text of Egyptian amendment. It is a likely to be considered in Committee III/3 to-morrow, and we hope to defeat it sooner or later.

"There shall be considered as regional arrangements organisations of a permanent nature grouping in a given geographical area several countries which by reason of their proximity, community of interest or dultural, linguistic, historical or spiritual affinities make themselves jointly responsible for the peaceful settlement of any disputes which may arise between them and for the maintenance of peace and security in their region, as well as for the safeguarding of their interests and the development of their economic and cultural relations."

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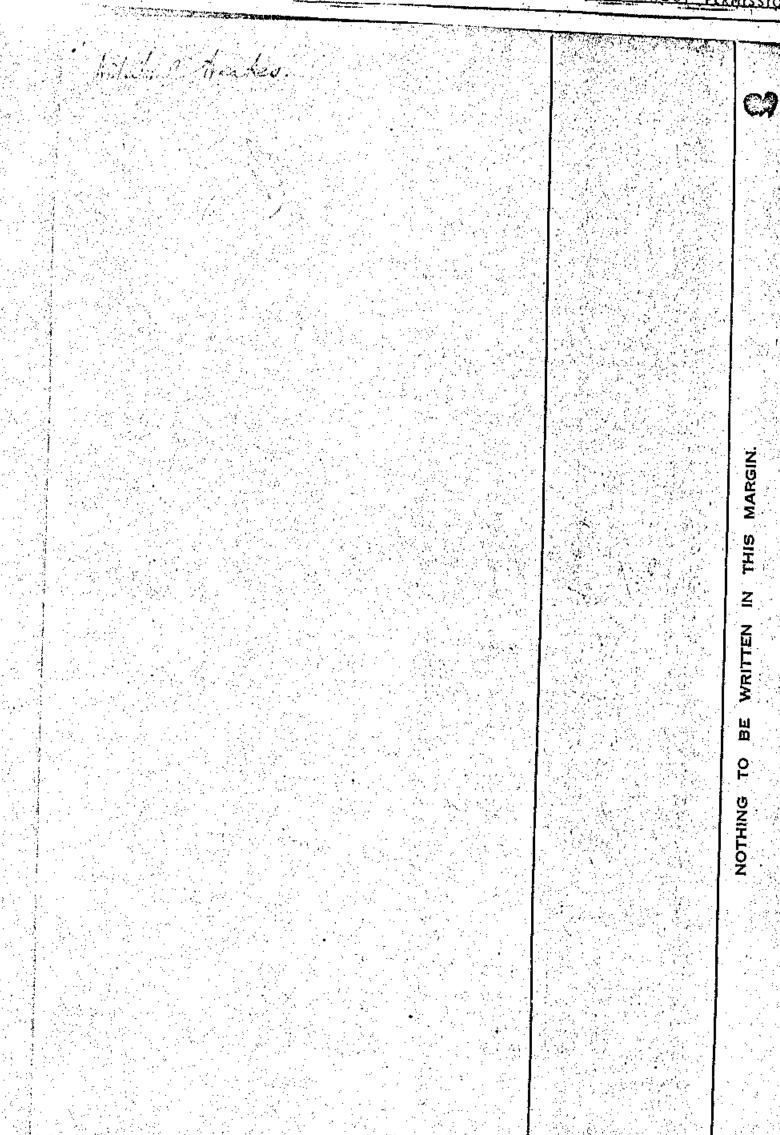
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